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zations that seem to be part of the whole reptilian system which betrayed itself in the Zimmermann note.

When the terms "pacifist" and "member of a peace society" are used in the East, I imagine there is connoted frequently a mild, philosophically inclined gentleman, very anxious to benefit his fellow-men, and possibly himself the scion of an honorable Philadelphia Quaker or Boston Unitarian family. When similar terms are used in the West, barring a certain number of persons who pass among their fellows as "wild-eyed cranks" or "dyed-in-the-wool Bryanites," there is now very often meant a man whose American ancestry is short, his antipathies to England indescribable, and his loyalty to the Stars and Stripes, to say the least, the subject of grave solicitude among those in authority.

If the Eastern leaders of the peace societies believe the above statement is unjust, they will not upset the same by denying that very many people hold it to represent the facts. An extremely great number of Americans out here are ready to indorse Mr. Roosevelt's statement before the Union League Club of New York on March 20: "I want to point out a curious fact. For the last two years and a half we have seen the American pacifist meeching around. To try to curry favor with the German militarists, the American pacifist, the professional pacifist, has been the tool and the subordinate ally of the pro-German in this country."

The remedy for this situation, if there is a remedy, lies within the peace societies and not outside of them.

### BRIEF PEACE NOTES

**T**HE chronological order in which the nations involved in the European war entered into the war by declarations is given as follows:

Austria against Serbia.....	July 28, 1914
Germany against Russia.....	August 1, 1914
Germany against France.....	August 3, 1914
Great Britain against Germany.....	August 4, 1914
Austria against Russia.....	August 6, 1914
Montenegro against Austria.....	August 8, 1914
Serbia against Germany.....	August 9, 1914
France against Austria.....	August 10, 1914
Great Britain against Austria.....	August 12, 1914
Montenegro against Germany.....	August 12, 1914
Japan against Germany.....	August 23, 1914
Austria against Japan.....	August 25, 1914
Austria against Belgium.....	August 28, 1914
Russia against Turkey.....	October 30, 1914
Great Britain against Turkey.....	November 5, 1914
France against Turkey.....	November 5, 1914
Italy against Austria.....	May 24, 1915
San Marino against Austria.....	May 24, 1915
Italy against Turkey.....	August 22, 1915
Great Britain against Bulgaria.....	October 15, 1915
Serbia against Bulgaria.....	October 16, 1915
France against Bulgaria.....	October 15, 1915
Italy against Bulgaria.....	October 19, 1915
Russia against Bulgaria.....	October 19, 1915
Germany against Portugal.....	March 8, 1916
Italy against Germany.....	August 27, 1916
Roumania against Austria.....	August 27, 1916
United States against Germany (state of war) .....	April 6, 1917

... Not all Leagues to Enforce Peace are identical, it appears. It is claimed in a London dispatch to this country that the "Bryce Scheme," also termed a League for Enforcement of Peace, antedates the American variety and is more radical. It is said to go a step farther in its provision for a common enforcement of decisions of the International Court and in providing for collective action against any non-member nation which commits acts of aggression without having agreed to submit to the tribunal. A proviso of less importance gives larger representation in the International Council to Great Nations than that accorded the smaller countries. Concerning this plan, Lord Bryce is quoted as saying:

"The entrance of the United States into the war makes it desirable that the effort of the American League to Enforce Peace should be responded to by expressions of public opinion here. I therefore venture to lay before you a scheme almost identical with that of the American League. It was prepared by a group of men here two years ago. The scheme is, of course, tentative, but taken with the American scheme it may help to draw public opinion to this important subject. Obviously no practical steps can be taken until after the war; but the idea is one which the public may well begin to consider. It has received the approval of the present and late premiers and foreign secretaries."

... A strong drive for a concert of nations after the war, and opposing anything like the *status quo ante*, is in progress at Leland Stanford, Jr., University, under the leadership of Prof. Edward Krehbiel. A statement by Professor Krehbiel reads in part:

Under the current conception of righteousness as something national, maintained by force, the only means that the combined wisdom of men has tried for keeping the peace is the balance of power. "Preparedness is the best insurance against war." "Peace results from an equilibrium of nations." But, alas! while declaiming about the equilibrium as the safeguard of peace, each nation is in practice defeating its effective operation by seeking to be better armed than every other—is, in a word, seeking to tilt the balance in its favor. Thus the equilibrium is unstable; is no equilibrium at all. Every increase of strength by one power must be met by a counter-increase of every other in order to maintain the balance. Thus what promised to be a solution becomes a burden and a menace and eventually leads, as it has always led, to war.

The balance of power is therefore a fraud as a method of maintaining peace. It rests on competing force, and competing force knows of no method of solution except war. Not so with the concert of power. Denying at the outset that righteousness is national and competitive, it holds that righteousness is universal and cooperative. And if this righteousness is to be sustained force must cease to be national and competitive and become cooperative. Then there will no longer be force *versus* force, with the evil brood of consequences, such as "might makes right" or the trampling on weak States, but instead a united force put behind the common ideal of justice.

... "What are we, who were once pacifists?" is the wail of Henry Seidel Canby, a professor of English in the Sheffield School of Yale University and a descendant

of Quaker ancestry. Finding himself antagonized by the extremists on both sides—pacifanatics and jingoes—even though their desperate devices win something of admiration, he remarks, in a letter to *The Nation*:

How infinitely more important is the status of Western civilization after the war, and all that may make it a sound one, than the satisfaction of the virile instinct to "do something" immediately whenever national dignity is "offended." And, for the other party, how infinitely more important that Europe should be free from a despotic German hegemony, that wronged races should have their rights, and international decency be vindicated than that here and now we should drop this evil weapon, war, and be passive to our own and others' undoing! . . . There is only one issue, and that is ultimate peace and the saving of Western civilization.

If to believe in such principles and to think in terms of facts—the facts of the drift toward peace as well as the facts of existing warfare—makes me a pacifist, then a pacifist in thought, if not in name, I intend to remain; for who is not a pacifist, in my sense, the old and right sense? What American in his cooler moments can fail to be such a pacifist—except fighters for the sake of fighting, indifferents careless of national welfare, and the few among the many profiting by war who are influenced by the thought of gain? . . .

Invent a new term, then, for the myriads that call themselves pacifists, or, if pacifism is to be a reproach, apply it with discrimination. We will not be confused with the sentimentalists—the non-resistants, or half-resistants, who wish to sell goods to the Allies only and still keep clear of European responsibility. We cannot align ourselves with the reckless barbarians who care not what happens tomorrow so long as they fight today. We are a party, patriotic I know, self-sacrificing I hope, clearer thinking than some; a party of protest against prejudice and short-sightedness, rant and hysteria. We are against anti-nationalism and the sluggishness of a people not too cowardly to fight, but too comfortable to think; we are against dangerous jingoism that serves its own passions rather than the State.

. . . Pleading that we live not only in a crisis of death, but in a crisis of birth as well, which we should hail with the cry, "Civilization is dead! Long live Civilization!" David Lubin, long noted for his foundation of the International Institute of Agriculture, issues a four-page leaflet, under date of January 2, 1917, declaring for the mobilization of agriculture in America. This presents his arguments for the reintroduction and passage of Senate Bill 5793, of the 64th Congress. This measure provided for a National Chamber of Agriculture. It has received the favorable comment of the President and was indeed on its way to legislation, but too late to receive attention by that Congress. Mr. Lubin pleads that the motive powers actuating the force of the Republic be taken from the cities, who now monopolize it, and be distributed among the agricultural element as well. "The simpler, worthier ideals of this element," he claims, "when politically alive, act as a driven wedge, riving asunder the egotistic political materialism of the capital and the labor of the cities." For the "solemn service of reconstruction" after the war he recommends the "Landwirtschaftsrat" system, and says of it:

It is largely the system here proposed that has rendered the agricultural industry the most effective political and economic institution in Germany. It is largely this effectiveness which has proven to be the power behind the throne in the German Empire—a power which has rendered Germany almost invincible. This is the secret of the strength, the "long hair" of the modern Sampson.

An organization in the United States on these lines would:

First. Mobilize the agricultural industry, rendering it an efficient and an essential factor in strengthening the nation.

Second. It would weld the agricultural industry into a homogeneous solidarity, a solidarity free in its individual constituents, yet politically and economically effective as a whole.

Third. It would be effective as a means of insuring the equitable distribution of farm products, thus proving of inestimable benefit to the consumers as well as to the producers.

Fourth. It would, above all, be the means which would give the American farmer his "place in the sun" as a political entity, thus completing the essential elements in the political force of the nation.

This, and this alone, will make possible "the clear head, the steady hand, and the noble heart" required if the Republic is to perform her part in the work of world reconstruction.

. . . Mobilization for farm work proceeds apace. In New York City the Food Problem Committee of the Merchant's Association has outlined a program which it presents to the Federal Government and State military authorities. This is, that (1) every man applying for enlistment in the Army or Navy be accepted, and those not at once physically fit be sent to farms to raise crops and get physically fit for service; (2) that school-boys be organized and sent to do farm work; (3) that the Boy Scouts be mobilized for farm work. In this connection the Long Island Railroad has lately issued 25,000 posters bearing the following legend:

April 21st, 1917.

AGRICULTURAL MOBILIZATION DAY.

The time has come to plant.

The Spring is here.

Let us all try to raise a BIG CROP this year.

The world needs it.

Plant potatoes, onions, cabbages, and all kinds of vegetables. Let every one have something in his cellar that he has raised.

LEND A HAND.

. . . A more official proposal is that of Secretary Lane. He calls attention to the fact that there are seven hundred thousand acres of land within our reclamation projects upon which water may be placed this season. For this purpose he urges that a "War Maintenance Corps" be placed upon each project, with all possible supplies of gang plows, harrows, and seeders. He would have these corps organized like field-gun detachments, to proceed from field to field until all the land has been plowed and planted.

. . . Efforts to root out the objectionable features of the Espionage Bill were distinguished by a round-robin signed by twenty well-known Americans and sent to the President the third week in April. The text of their arguments runs in part as follows:

"Several bills are now before Congress, or may come before it, seeking to punish those who designedly use military information for the benefit of foreign governments. With this purpose we, of course, are entirely sympathetic; but the administration of such laws, purposely made comprehensive so as to include a wide range of possible offenders, may easily lend itself to the suppression of free speech, free assemblage, popular discussion and criticism. We believe that you would deem it essential, perhaps more at this time than at any other, that the truth should not be withheld or concealed from the American people, whose interests after all are the most vital consideration.

"What we ask of you, Mr. President, whose utterances at this time must command the earnest attention of the country, is to make an impressive statement that will reach, not only the officials of the Federal Government scattered throughout the union, but the officials of the several States and of the cities, towns, and villages of the country, reminding them of

the peculiar obligation devolving upon all Americans in this war to uphold in every way our constitutional rights and liberties. This will give assurance that in attempting to administer war-time laws, the spirit of democracy will not be broken. Such a statement sent throughout the country would re-enforce your declaration, that this is a war for democracy and liberty. We are sure that you will believe that only because this matter seems of paramount public importance that we venture to bring it to you at this time for your attention."

Among the signers to the round robin were Herbert Croly, editor of *The New Republic*; Matthew Hale, the Progressive leader in Massachusetts; Judge Ben. Lindsay, of Denver; Charles J. Rhoades, of the Federal Reserve Board of Philadelphia; Oswald Garrison Villard, president of the New York *Evening Post*; Jane Addams; Lillian D. Wald; Amos R. E. Pinchot; Paul U. Kellogg, editor of *Survey*; Owen R. Lovejoy, secretary of the National Child Labor Committee; Mrs. Glendower Evans, of Boston; L. Hollingsworth Wood, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

## AMONG THE PEACE ORGANIZATIONS

### AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

#### *Central West Department*

**D**IRECTOR TOWNSEND has recently delivered addresses at the Julia Ward Howe School, Chicago; the Elm School, Highland Park, Ill.; Public School, Riverside, Ill.; the Central Y. M. C. A., Chicago; the Presbyterian Ministers' Meeting, Chicago, and at the Cragin Congregational Church. Further speaking engagements have been canceled by request, owing to the declaration of war. Recently the Director met with a joint committee of the Church Federation of Chicago and the Woman's Church Federation to discuss the question of military training in the public schools. He was instructed to take the matter up with the local Chicago Society, advocating an appropriate resolution on the subject.

The Board of Education of Chicago has adopted the voluntary system of military training in the high schools of Chicago as promoted by Captain Steever, of the United States Army, and as backed by the War College. They appropriated \$5,000 for equipment. The scheme has been adopted in a number of schools and is being pushed vigorously by the newspapers, but it is apparent that it has not met the popular response that its promoters expected or desired. There is now pending in the Illinois State legislature a bill for compulsory military training in the schools. A subcommittee is holding hearings in different parts of the State and will report its findings to the regular committee and for the guidance of the legislature. They held a hearing in Chicago March 12. While there was a goodly presentation against it, there was a greater number there to argue for it. Every opportunity is being taken to work against the adoption of compulsory military training in the public schools. There is a very generous response among the mothers, but the fathers seem to feel it would be a good thing.

Considerable interest is daily shown by individuals in the continued work of the department; but all public meetings and demonstrations in connection with peace propaganda have given way to patriotic meetings. Di-

rector Townsend reports good evidence of feeling among those with whom he had discussed the matter privately that the program of the American Peace Society and the work for its organization will be greater at the close of this war than ever before in its history. The Director has been working upon a plan of organization for the State of Illinois, which he had hoped to make a model for all of the States in the Central West Department, with the idea of extending the organization plan of the Society. While this work is now in abeyance to some extent, it is hoped that the plans may be quietly completed, ready for launching at the opportune moment.

#### *South Atlantic States Department*

Director Hall submits a brief report of the activities of his department of recent date as follows: The office at Atlanta of the South Atlantic States Department of the American Peace Society is the clearing-house for most of the peace work in the South. It receives and sends out peace literature from well-nigh every peace society in the land and is written to from every Southern State. Apart from this it carries on a distinct peace propaganda in several States. It has organized State peace societies in Georgia, North Carolina, and Florida. In each of these States the Director, Dr. J. J. Hall, goes lecturing, visiting churches, schools, and federations, keeping in touch with State legislation, and in many ways creating and fostering public opinion in favor of world peace. These public meetings are largely attended. It is a great work among the masses, from whom must yet come the demand for the cessation of war.

At the Southeastern Fair, held in the city of Atlanta last October and visited by more than 150,000 persons, we erected an attractive peace booth and gave away 20,000 pieces of peace literature. We are now planning to bring into the work persons who are leaders in thought and financial strength of the South; but this will take time and continued endeavor. During the European war, though quite busy in keeping up the work, we have felt that our brightest hope could only be realized after the close of the war, and the general program of the American Peace Society, if supported by a universal public opinion, gives more than a promise of the better day for all nations. Our great peace work South does not overlap that of other peace societies, because much of it is not attempted by other societies and is carried on with the strictest economy. The Director, having been in the ministry for several years in the South, is not only well known, but has the heartiest support of ministers of all denominations, of educators, and of the people generally.

#### *Pacific Coast Department*

Director Root has recently addressed the following groups: Garfield School Parent-Teachers' Association, Berkeley, Cal.; Mass Meeting, Elk Grove, Cal.; Friends' Meeting, Oakland, Cal.; the Students' Volunteer Band, San Francisco Theological Seminary (Presbyterian), San Anselmo, Cal.; American School Peace League Section of Northern California State Teachers' Association, and the San Francisco Woman's Peace Party Meeting.

Special literature against military training in the high schools has been distributed at the State Teachers' Association; to over 300 Sunday-school superintendents,